

THE TRADITION OF THE IONIAN COLONISATION OF ASIA MINOR: REMARKS ON THE SOURCES¹

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Atheniensium res gestae,
sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere,
verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur.
Sed quia provenire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia,
per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur.

Sallustius, *Bellum Catilinae* 8

Abstract: This article discusses the tradition of the Ionian colonisation preserved in ancient literary sources. The author focuses on the time and circumstances in which the view that the Athenians were responsible for the Ionian colonisation emerged. He also examines whether there is any support in the sources for the opinion expressed by some historians that such a belief was already strong in the Archaic period.

Key words: colonisation, Ionia, Athens, Euripides, Thucydides, Herodotus.

Ionian migration is a familiar term in historiography. Certainly, there is an ongoing debate about the extent to which accounts about the Ionians' arrival from Attica in Asia Minor reflect the actual events at the turn of the 1st millennium BC. However, it is generally accepted that as early as the 6th century BC the myth of the Ionian migration played a significant role in forming a bond between Athens and the Greek cities in Asia Minor. This paper is an attempt to critically re-examine the problem. We will start our examination by quoting a fragment of the *Compendium of Roman History* by Velleius Paterculus, who wrote at the turn of the eras:

Subsequenti tempore magna vis Graecae iuventutis, abundantia virium, sedes quaeritans in Asiam se effudit. Nam et Iones, duce Ione, profecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regionis maritimae occupavere, quae hodieque appellatur Ionia, urbesque constituere Ephesum, Miletum, Colopho-

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na, Prienen, Lebedum, Clazomenas, Phocaeam, multasque in Aegaeo atque Icario occupavere Myuntem, Erythram insulas, Samum, Chium, Andrum, Tenum, Parum, Delum alias que ignobiles.²

The passage paints a rather consistent picture of the colonisation of Ionia. According to the Roman historian, Ionia was settled by incomers from the territory of Athens. The campaign that populated the territory of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands was reportedly led by Ion.³ The reason behind organising a colonisation expedition was overpopulation. This image of the colonisation, carried out from the territory of Athens and making the city into something of a metropolis for the whole of Ionia, had such a powerful influence on historians studying the Greek past that some believed this tradition to be a completely, or at least largely, faithful depiction of actual events. N.G.L. Hammond, a British historian who studied migrations in ancient Greece, wrote in his *A History of Greece* that the Athenians initiated the process of the Ionian colonisation.⁴ What is more, he suggests that as a result of the colonisation process initiated by Athens, which brought new settlers to these territories, a bond was formed between the Ionians and the Athenians. Using the example of the festival of Apaturia, mentioned by Herodotus,⁵ he writes that even in the 8th century BC its role was to emphasise the ties binding the Ionians and the Athenians, and that the Ionians saw Attica as their homeland.⁶ Hammond, then, believed that the sense of unity between the Athenians and the Ionians was formed very early on.

Herodotus, who devoted quite a lot of space to the Ionian colonisation, mentions that having arrived at the territories of Asia Minor, the Ionians founded twelve cities, because their tribe had been divided into twelve parts on the Peloponnese.⁷ The Ionians are described as an *ethnos* in *Histories*. However, Herodotus' observation that some of the Ionians avoided using a common name must give us pause.⁸

We should also ask ourselves about the prevalence (in the Archaic and Early Classical Periods) of the sense of belonging to the Ionian *ethnos* and the belief in the tradition that the Ionian cities had been established by Athenian colonists. There is a theory which holds that it was the Ionians who tried to make their bond with the Athenians visible. This supposedly took place at the turn of the 5th century, when Ionian cities in Asia Minor found themselves in the Persian yoke and needed the support of a stronger ally.⁹

From the perspective of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor, the sense of such a union with the Athenians is not apparent in the sources. The local traditions of these Ionian cities include colonisation myths which have little to do with the territory of Attica. According to Mimnermus of Colophon (7th/6th century BC), his city was reportedly founded

² Vell. Pat. 1, 4, 3.

³ We should point out that Ion arriving in Asia Minor and founding colonies there is not known in Greek literature. Only Velleius Paterculus and Vitruvius (4,1) recorded this version.

⁴ Hammond 1973, 120.

⁵ Hdt 1, 147.

⁶ Hammond 1973, 124.

⁷ Hdt 1, 145.

⁸ Hdt 1, 143.

⁹ Lamboley 2007, 58.

by Messenian settlers from Pylos (fr. 9 West). Hellanicus of Lesbos, a writer from the 5th century BC, relates that the founders of Priene came from Boeotian Thebes.¹⁰

The above fragments of works concerning the foundation of cities in Ionia (κτίσεις) and describing their history do not contain evidence of a unity of the region, and foundation myths treat each *polis* separately, without any references to common Ionian traditions. The graffiti at Abu-Simbel, probably left behind by Greek mercenaries in the early 6th century BC, is an interesting source. The inscriptions follow the same pattern of a person's name and country of origin. Among them, we find some names from Ionian cities, e.g. Pambis of Colophon.¹¹ The inscriptions found at Naucratis in the Nile Delta, created by people from Chios, Phocaea, and Cladzomenai, follow a similar pattern. It is puzzling that not one of these Greeks called himself an Ionian. Literary sources and inscriptions lead us to posit that perhaps in the archaic period the Ionians did not think of themselves as one community, and it was the *polis* that generated a sense of unity.¹²

On the basis of the surviving sources, it is difficult to prove that the Greeks in Asia Minor found it important to emphasise the existence of ethnic ties binding them to the Athenians. Therefore, it could be assumed that it was not in Ionia but in Athens that the tradition of common ancestry originated.

Historians put forward various theories regarding the time and circumstances in which this conviction emerged. In his article *Myth as Propaganda: Athens and Sparta*, Jan Bremmer stated that around 600 BC the ties between Athens and Ionia were well documented in Athens. This claim is based on one of the fragments attributed to Solon, who calls Attica the oldest part of Ionia.¹³ In his comprehensive monograph, Michel Sakellariou, in turn, dates the origin of the idea that the Ionians were descended from the Athenians to the first half of the 5th century BC.¹⁴ His interpretation is based on the work of one Panyassis, who was supposedly more or less contemporary to Herodotus.

Since this interpretation does not appear very convincing, we must turn to ancient accounts. According to Sakellariou, the work of Panyassis, entitled *Ἰωνικά*, presented Neleus, the son of Kodros (king of Athens) as the leader of the colonisation expedition. However, Sakellariou's conclusions should be taken with caution. Panyassis' work has not survived, and very little is known of its content. *Liber Suda*, which is our source of information on Panyassis, merely states: ἔγραψε (Πανύσσις – J.K.) [...] Ἰωνικά ἐν πενταμέτρῳ ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον, καὶ Νηλέα, καὶ Ἰωνικὰς ἀποικίας.¹⁵ Based on this one mention, it is impossible to determine what role Neleus played in the colonisation of Ionia. Additionally, the mention should be interpreted as “on Kodros and Neleus,” not “on Kodros, the son of Neleus,” as Sakellariou claims. We should be very cautious indeed when it comes to chronology connected with Panyassis, as very little information

¹⁰ FGrH 4 F 101 = Hesych. s.v. Καδμεῖοι.

¹¹ Pernigotti 1998, 63.

¹² Crielaard 2009, 43.

¹³ Bremmer 1997, 10. Similarly, Morris 2009, 133.

¹⁴ Sakellariou 1958, 30: «L'idée que les Ioniens seraient issus d'Athènes est donc postérieure à la révolte ionienne, mais antérieure à 460, date à laquelle est mort Panyassis, dont l'oeuvre, nous l'avons dit, présentait Nélée, fils de Codros, comme chef de la migration en Ionie».

¹⁵ *Liber Suda*, s.v. Πανύσσις.

about the writer has survived, while the work which supposedly described the colonisation of Ionia is mentioned only in *Liber Suda*, a very late source.

According to Sakellariou, the second oldest writer to relate the tradition about the Athenian origin of the Ionians is Pherecydes of Athens.¹⁶ In one of the fragments attributed to the writer, which survived in Strabo's *Geography*, we read that the Ionians drove away the barbarian Carians and Leleges. Androklos – son of Kodros, king of Athens – reportedly led the colonisation campaign; he also founded Ephesus.¹⁷ In the above fragment, the initiative to colonise Ionia does indeed become linked to Athens through Androklos. It must be noted, however, that Pherecydes is a contentious figure among scholars. The first serious problem is the fact that ancient sources relate information about two writers going by the name of Pherecydes, and even ancient writers found it difficult to distinguish between them. In his *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius writes:

Andron of Ephesus says that there were two natives of Syros who bore the name of Pherecydes: the one was an astronomer, the other was the son of Babys and a theologian, teacher of Pythagoras. Eratosthenes, however, says that there was only one Pherecydes of Syros, the other Pherecydes being an Athenian and a genealogist.¹⁸

Two figures emerge from the cited fragment: Pherecydes of Syros and Pherecydes of Athens. The former probably lived in the 6th century BC,¹⁹ while Pherecydes of Athens (cited by Strabo) was a mythographer whose life and work is dated to the 5th century BC. It should be noted, however, that sources are not unanimous with regard to the seniority of the two writers named Pherecydes. Strabo writes that Pherecydes of Syros lived before his namesake from Athens.²⁰ According to *Liber Suda*, however, Pherecydes of Athens was older than Pherecydes of Syros.²¹ Modern historians have tried to establish the exact period when the Athenian Pherecydes lived and wrote, but as yet without reaching a consensus. Felix Jacoby, who believes that one of Pherecydes' works, *Historiai*, was written between 508/507 and 476/475, dates his activity to the early 5th century BC.²² George Huxley, in turn, links the period of Pherecydes' activity to the times of Cimon.²³ We must also mention the opinion of Ulrich Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who questioned the existence of Pherecydes of Athens. He believed Pherecydes of Syros to have been a historical figure, and thought that Pherecydes of Athens had been invented by Eratosthenes.²⁴ According to this theory, in ancient times mythographic works were credited to the invented Pherecydes of Athens by the same principle by which laws were ascribed to Solon and medical treatises to Hippocrates.²⁵ The disputes which Phere-

¹⁶ *FGrH* 3.

¹⁷ *FGrH* 3 F 155 = Strabo 14, 1, 3 (C 632): ἄρξαι δὲ φησιν Ἀνδρόκλον τῆς τῶν Ἰόνων ἀποικίας, ὕστερον τῆς Αἰολικῆς, υἱὸν γνήσιον Κόδρου τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν βασιλέως, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον Ἐφέσου κτίστην.

¹⁸ Diog. Laer. 1, 11. English translation edited by R.D. Hicks (Perseus Digital Library).

¹⁹ Engels 2010, 70.

²⁰ Strabo 10, 5, 8 (C 487).

²¹ *Liber Suda*, s.v. Φερεκύδης Ἀθηναῖος: πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Σύριου.

²² Jacoby 1947, 33.

²³ Huxley 1973, 137.

²⁴ Fowler 1999, 2.

²⁵ Jacoby 1947, 33; Fowler 1999, 2.

cydes of Athens has provoked since Antiquity (particularly Wilamowitz's theory) put a question mark over a matter that is key for this article – the time when the fragment cited by Strabo was written. This means that we cannot definitively conclude that a strong tradition concerning the colonisation of Ionia by the Athenians existed in the first half of the 5th century BC.

In our search for the link between the Athenians and the Ionians, we should also turn to older sources. The first literary mention of the Ionians can be found in Homer; they were mentioned only once by the poet. It should be added that they were not placed in Asia Minor; Homer lists them as participants in the battle against the Trojans. Since Homer mentions them right next to the Boeotians, it could be assumed that according to the epic poet they lived somewhere in central Greece, perhaps Attica. This is just one possible interpretation; some historians place the Ionians in the *Iliad* on Euboea.²⁶ Others, in turn, believe this fragment to be an interpolation made by the Athenians.²⁷ It seems likely that Homer could have placed the Ionians in Attica.²⁸ However, the poet does not mention Ion (present in Paterculus' work) – the leader of the colonisation campaign and their eponym. His absence may be due to the fact that at the time the *Iliad* was written, Ion was not yet perceived as the eponym of the Ionians and coloniser.

The name of the famous Athenian statesman and poet Solon also appears in this discourse. One of the fragments attributed to him reads:

Γινώσκω καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται,
Πρεσβυτάτην ἑσορῶν γαῖαν [Ι]αονίας κλινομένην.²⁹

The author of this fragment expresses his sorrow at the bad condition of the Athenian *polis*, called “the oldest of the Ionian lands.” On the basis of this fragment, historians conclude that the view that the Athenians and the Ionians had common ancestors was prevalent at the beginning of the 6th century BC in Attica (since 594/593 is the traditionally accepted date of Solon becoming *archon*).³⁰ Such a reference to the territory of Attica was to express a sense of unity of the Athenians and the Ionians. However, Solon's account must also be treated with the utmost caution, since there are more and more doubts as to whether all the fragments of poetry attributed to Solon were indeed his works. It

²⁶ Burkert 1995, 11–12.

²⁷ Hom. *Il.* 13, 685: *Ἰάονες ἔλκεχιτῶνες*; Crielaard 2009, 41 n. 25.

²⁸ Let us add that the Ionians are linked to Attica in late works penned by Strabo and Pausanias. It should also be mentioned, however, that the territory of the Peloponnese played an equally important role in these writers' accounts. They relate that apart from Attica, Achaea (which was called Aigalos in mythical times) was another land inhabited by the Ionians at the beginning of their history. However, information about Aigalos and Attica differs somewhat in Strabo's and Pausanias' accounts. Strabo derives the Ionians from the Athenians (*ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τὸ γένος ὄντες*). The Ionians from Attica sent colonists to the Peloponnese, where they settled in Aigalos, see Strabo 8, 7, 1 (C 383). Pausanias (7, 1, 1–9) on the other hand, identifies Aigalos as the cradle of the Ionians, who migrated to Attica after many trials and tribulations (Pausanias includes the earliest history of the Ionians and the progress of the colonisation of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor in the book on Achaea).

²⁹ Frg. 4 (Diehl) = *Athenaion Politeia* 5.

³⁰ Hall 1997, 53; 2002, 69; Miller 1997, 26. Zacharia (2003, 47) also posits that this view was known in Solon's times. She also suggests that Phrynichus' tragedy, *The Fall of Miletus*, may have contained similar content (Zacharia 2003, 49).

has been pointed out that since Solon's poetry was preserved only in oral form for a long period of time, it may have been distorted or even manipulated. Therefore, some scholars believe that at least some fragments attributed to Solon are not genuine.³¹ If supporters of this theory are right, we cannot be certain that the one cited above reflects a view which was prevalent in Athens in the early 6th century. It could just as well have been composed at any moment preceding the writing of the *Athenaion Politeia*, whose author attributed these verses to Solon.³² The matter is even more complicated because the manuscripts in which the relevant verses survived are damaged, which means that the cited fragment must be reconstructed, and the version presented above is not the only possible reading.³³

A source-based depiction of the unity of the Athenians and the Ionians can only be found in works from the 5th century BC, penned by Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides, and Hellanicos of Lesbos. In one of the chapters of *Histories*, Herodotus states that the Ionians who came from the Athenian Prytaneion considered themselves to be the highest born.³⁴ Euripides, in turn, shows Ion (the eponym of the Ionians) as a descendant of the Athenian king Erechtheus.³⁵ Thucydides' account is a very important source; in the first part of Book I of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, which is called the Archaeology, he states twice that the colonisation of the Ionian territories was carried out from Athens and by the citizens of the *polis*. This story is part of a broader description of the history of the Hellenes after the Trojan War. That time saw numerous migrations of peoples, although these were not experienced by Attica, meaning that this territory was always inhabited by the same population (τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν [...] ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ).³⁶ When the turmoil ended, Athens started to grow so quickly that it faced the prob-

³¹ Lardinois 2006, 32–33; we should remember that the Athenian was regarded as a legend in the 5th century BC. He was listed among the Seven Sages and credited with deeds which, on the one hand, are very difficult to prove, but on the other hand are so fixed in the collective awareness that they are almost taken for granted even today (e.g. the creation of the Council of Four Hundred). Solon is already presented as a wise man in Herodotus' *The Histories* (Book I), where he gives advice to the Lydian king Croesus and Cyrus the Great. He is also named in the oldest extant list of the Seven Sages, which has survived to our times in Plato's *Protagoras* (342e–343c), where he is listed as a wise man along with Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Pittacus of Mytilene, Cleobulus of Lindos, Myson of Chenae, and Chilon of Sparta, see Snell 1943, 26–56; Engels 2010, 49–52.

³² Keaney 1992, 14.

³³ Masaracchia 1958, 272–273. Mülke (2002, 165–168) discussed the difficulties with interpreting this fragment. For alternative readings, cf. Rhodes 1993, 122–123. Some sources say that Ionia is the original name of Attica, but these sources are late, as well as few and far between, see Strabo 8, 7, 1 (C 383); Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἰωνία*: ἡ Ἀττικὴ πρότερον [...].

³⁴ Hdt 1, 146.

³⁵ M. Sakellariou (1958, 26) claims that Plato's *Euthydemus* (302c) also relates the information that the Ionians in Asia Minor were descended from Athens. However, this fact cannot be established on the basis of the text. The fragment reads that all the Ionians – those in Athens, and those who left the city (ἐκ τῆσδε πόλεως ἀπωκισμένοι) – worship Apollo as their protective deity; it does not mention where the Ionians migrated to. Asia Minor is the first place that comes to mind, but we should remember that according to the tradition recorded in Strabo's *Geography*, the Ionians from Attica also colonised the Peloponnese. See Strabo 8, 7, 1 (C 383): οὕτω δὲ πολυανδρῆσαι τὴν χώραν τότε συνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ ἀποικίαν τῶν Ἰόνων ἔστειλαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι [...].

³⁶ Thuc. 1, 3. The autochthonous origin of the Athenians is already mentioned by Herodotus. In the description of the refusal to give the command of the Athenian fleet to Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, the

lem of overpopulation, which was solved by sending colonists to Ionia.³⁷ Thucydides also points out the kinship between the Athenians and the Ionians when he depicts the Hellenes' customs and style of dressing in the oldest times. As a result of their common ancestry, both the Athenians and the Ionians wore long chitons and tied their hair with pins.³⁸ We should also note that some of the extant fragments by Hellanikos, a writer more or less contemporary to Thucydides, refer to the colonisation of Ionia. Neleus, son of the Athenian king Kodros, plays an important role in the events. According to one of the fragments, Neleus was the founder of the twelve cities in Ionia.³⁹ Another fragment calls Neleus the founder of the city of Erythrai.⁴⁰

In our search for evidence of a sense of unity between the Athenians and the Ionians, we should not overlook the figure of Ion. He appears for the first time in the *Catalogue of Women (Eoie)*, a work credited to Hesiod.⁴¹ There is a debate among scholars concerning the dating and authorship of this work. Some scholars claim, that the *Catalogue of Women* is indeed the work of Hesiod, written at the turn of the 7th century BC.⁴² However, it is increasingly often posited that the work was probably written in the 6th century BC. Martin West, an editor of the *Catalogue of Women*, also subscribes to this theory. This dating is based on text analysis, which sets the work's *terminus ante quem non* at the second half of the 7th century BC, and the *terminus post quem non* at the early 5th century BC.⁴³ There is also a hypothesis that the writer had connections with Attica.⁴⁴ Although the text of the *Catalogue of Women* is fragmentary and Ion only appears in one of the fragments, it can be a basis for some very important observations. In the account of the author of the *Catalogue of Women*, Ion is the son of Xuthus and Creusa (daughter of the mythical king of Athens, Erechtheus), and on his father's side he is descended from Hellen himself.⁴⁵ Ion is mentioned next to his uncle Dorus, regarded in Greek mythology as a hero and the eponymous founder of the Dorians. In doing so, the text includes Ion in the Panhellenic genealogy, which systematised accounts about the ancestry of various Hellenic tribes, trying to reconcile various local traditions.⁴⁶ Since Ion does not appear

envoys say: ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων; Hdt 7, 161. Cf. also Isoc. *Panegyricus* 24.

³⁷ Thuc. 1, 3, 12.

³⁸ Thuc. 1, 6.

³⁹ *FGrH* 4 F 125 = Schol. Platon. *Symp.* 208D.

⁴⁰ *FGrH* 4 F 48 = Harp. s.v. *Ἐρυθραῖον*; traditions about the colonisation of Ionia in which Neleus played an important role are also recorded in later sources, e.g. Aristotle (frg. 76 Rose).

⁴¹ Ps.-Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 10 (Merkelbach – West):

Ξοῦθος δὲ Κρείουσαν ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσιν
Κούρην καλλιπάρηον Ἐρεχθῆος θεῖοιο
ἀθανάτων ἰότητι φίλην ποιήσας ἄκοιτιν·
ἢ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐγείας Ἰάονα τε κλυτόπωλον
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότῃ καὶ εὐεῖδεα Διομήδην.

⁴² P. Dräger (1997, 1–27) takes this position, disagreeing with West.

⁴³ West 1985, 130–136; cf. Hall 2002, 238–239.

⁴⁴ West 1985, 169–171; West states that if the author himself did not come from Attica, he “learnt the form from another who was.” See Hall 2002, 239.

⁴⁵ Ps.-Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 9 = Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 747f: Ἑλλήνων δ' ἐγένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος Δωρὸς τε Ξοῦτός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἱπποχάρμης.

⁴⁶ Hall 2002, 26–27.

in the Asia Minor tradition, we may consider the possibility that Ion is a creation of the Athenian tradition (if we agree with West's opinion that the *Catalogue's* author had connections with Attica). However, it is impossible to say with certainty how important Ion was in the eyes of the author of the *Catalogue of Women*, since he appears only once in the work, in the cited fragment.⁴⁷

Perhaps Herodotus continued the tradition represented by the author of the *Catalogue of Women*, since in *Histories* he twice states that Ion was the son of Xuthus (just like the author of the *Catalogue of Women*).⁴⁸ The context in which Ion's name appears in Herodotus' *Histories* is significant. He appears clearly in connection with Athens and Attica, but not in the description of the colonisation of Ionia in Asia Minor, which Herodotus also mentions.⁴⁹ In Book V, in the passage discussing Cleisthenes and his administrative reform dividing Attica into ten phyla, it is also mentioned that the previous division into four tribes was linked to Ion, as those administrative units were named after his sons.⁵⁰ It should be emphasised that *Histories* is the first work in which Ion is presented as an eponymous figure. However, Herodotus claims that it was the Athenians who adopted the name "Ionians," derived from their leader.⁵¹ The inhabitants of Athens were not the only ones to adopt Ion's name; so did those who had lived in Achaea before the arrival of Xuthus and had called themselves Aegialian Pelasgians.⁵² Considering the fact that in *Histories* Ion is linked to the territory of Attica and the northern Peloponnese, it could be surmised that the myth used by Herodotus originated in those regions. On the other hand, the figure must have been absent from the stories taken from the Asia Minor, Ionian tradition. Herodotus discusses both the topic of the colonisation of Ionia and the topic of the oldest history of the *poleis* situated there⁵³ – but not a word is written about Ion in those passages.

It is worth noting that Herodotus did not devote much attention to Ion, despite the fact that the writer himself was connected with both Ionia and Attica. His links to the former are obvious because of his origin (although Halicarnassus was where Ionian and Doric influences met) and his stay on the Ionian island of Samos, where, as tradition has it, he wrote *Histories*.⁵⁴ He subsequently went to Athens, where – if ancient accounts are to be believed – the Athenians rewarded him with ten talents for praising their par-

⁴⁷ In her commentary on the *Catalogue of Women*, M. Hirschberger (2004, 184–185) writes rather boldly, "Ion ist der eponyme Heros der Ionier, was im engeren Sinne die Ionien Kleinasien, im weiteren Sinne die Bewohner des gesamten ionisch-attischen Sprachgebiets mit Euböia, Attika und einem Teil der Kykladen meinen kann."

⁴⁸ Hdt 7, 94; 8, 44.

⁴⁹ The depiction of the colonisation of Ionia proposed by Herodotus is extremely interesting, since on the other hand, the author stresses that the colonisation process started from the Athenian territory.

⁵⁰ Hdt 5, 66: [...] τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλήτος [...]; later sources say that it was Ion who divided the population of Attica into four phyla; Strabo 8, 7, 1 (C 383): ὁ [Ἴων – J.K.] δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέτταρας φυλὰς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος [...]. According to Plutarch (*Adv. Col.* 31) Ion, compared to Lycurgus, Numa, and Deucalion, taught the Athenians about religious matters.

⁵¹ Hdt 8, 44: [...] Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχῃ γενομένου Ἀθηναῖοις ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες. Ion's leadership of the Athenians, mentioned by Herodotus, may refer to conflicts with Eleusis, known from later sources (Paus. 7, 1,4), or with the Thracians under the rule of Eumolpos (Strabo 8, 7, 1 (C 383)).

⁵² Hdt 7, 94.

⁵³ Hdt 1, 142–148.

⁵⁴ *Liber Suda*, s.v. *Ἡρόδοτος*; Bichler/Rollinger 2000, 111.

icipation in the war against the Persians.⁵⁵ Consequently, Herodotus was likely to have access to the local traditions, taken mainly from the elites of Athens and Ionia. The fact that Ion makes such a rare appearance in *Histories* may mean that, for some reason, Herodotus did not find it appealing to refer to the Panhellenic genealogy, related e.g. in the *Catalogue of Women*. Let us note that he is equally reserved when mentioning other figures connected with this tradition – Hellen himself, and one of his sons, Dorus, appear only once in *The Histories*, in the same chapter.⁵⁶

Herodotus' version is important for one more reason. Although the description of the Ionian colonisation includes the information that some of the settlers set off from Athens, it is also stated that the colonists were of various origins; the participants in this venture included the Abantes of Euboea, the Cadmeans and the Dorians of Epidaurus. Those who set off from Athens reportedly did not take their women with them and later married the barbarian Carian women.⁵⁷ This is a very interesting interpretation of the colonisation of Ionia, which seems to combine two independent traditions. The Athenian tradition echoes in the fragments about the "noble birth" of the participants setting off from the Prytaneion (note, however, that Herodotus does not write *expressis verbis* that it was the Athenians who set off from the Prytaneion). On the other hand, naming other tribes as colonists who supposedly organised their campaigns independently from Athens seems to be reminiscent of the colonisation myths functioning in individual Ionian *poleis* in Asia Minor. Therefore, it can be concluded that with regard to the colonisation of Ionia, *Histories* relate information from various traditions, and Herodotus himself rarely mentions Ion or other figures connected to the Panhellenic genealogy (e.g. Hellen, Dorus). In the fragments of *Histories* that do mention Ion, he is presented as the eponymous hero and reformer attached to the territory of Attica. His connections with Ionia in Asia Minor are not mentioned, and he is not presented as the founder of any colonies.

Another author of key importance for this article is a different 5th-century writer connected with Athens – Euripides. His works include a tragedy called *Ion*, created at a very difficult time for the Athenian *polis*, in the final stages of the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁸ In several places, Euripides' version of the myth is markedly different from the information related in the previously mentioned sources. The tragedy follows the fate of Ion, the son of the god Apollo and Creusa, who is abandoned by his mother at birth. However, his divine father orders Hermes to fetch the child from the cave in which he was left and to bring him to Delphi, where he is raised and serves as a guard in the temple of Apollo.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Plut. *De Herod.* 862b; cf. Bichler/Rollinger 2000, 112.

⁵⁶ Hdt 1, 56.

⁵⁷ Hdt 1, 146: [...] τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσι οὐ κέλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφι ἀναμεμῖχται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀπο δάσμοικαὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαῦριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμῖχται. Οἰδὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καεΐρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφρόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.

⁵⁸ The dating of the staging of the play is controversial. Some historians attempt to set an exact date, e.g. 419, 414, or 413 BC, see Lesky 2006, 489–490. Others propose more cautious time periods, e.g. 412–408, see Łanowski 2006, 350. K. Zacharia (2003, 2–5) suggests that *Ion* was staged in 412.

⁵⁹ This information is included in the prologue, in the part spoken by Hermes: Eur. *Ion* 1–81. Let us add that the long prologue used by Euripides in *Ion* introduces the audience to a version of the myth modified by the writer. Euripides used the same device in his other plays as well, see Czerwińska 2013, 40.

In the meantime, Creusa has married Xuthus, but has been unable to give him a child. Together with her husband, she goes to Delphi, where Ion and Creusa meet (unaware of their kinship).⁶⁰ Xuthus, meanwhile, heads to the Oracle of Trophonius to seek advice on how to end their infertility, and the oracle mysteriously foretells a positive resolution.⁶¹ The audience of *Ion* finds out the resolution in the prologue; Apollo intends to give his son to Xuthus.⁶² From that moment onwards the plot moves towards the mutual recognition (*anagnorismos*) of the mother, Creusa, the father, Xuthus, and the son, Ion. First, the father and the son recognise each other when Xuthus (who has just been told the prophecy) leaves the temple and meets Ion. The recognition of Creusa and Ion and the explanation of the *peripetia* take place at the end of the tragedy, when the mother and son meet at the foot of the altar. They both leave for Athens, and the whole play ends with the goddess Athena predicting that Ion's deeds, as well as those of his sons, will be famous.⁶³

Even this very brief summary of the plot allows us to note that in fact Euripides' tragedy is the first source to offer a more extended narrative about Ion. The play's message is decidedly pro-Athenian; Euripides showed a similar attitude in his other works, but this does not mean that he was uncritical about the policies of the Athenian *polis*.⁶⁴ It seems justified to say that, at such a difficult moment in its history, Athens needed an ideological boost, a show of unity between the city and its allies in the Delian League.⁶⁵ Let us remember that *Ion* was staged several years after the failure of the expedition to Sicily, which severely lessened the power of the Athenian Empire.⁶⁶ This weakening was considerable enough for the *hegemon* of the Delian League to have increasingly serious problems with keeping a tight rein on his allies. Out of the Ionian allies, according to Thucydides, Chios and Erythrai began negotiations with Sparta.⁶⁷ Referring to the common ancestry of the Athenians and the Ionians was probably meant to strengthen the Athenians' sense of entitlement to control the Ionian territory. In Euripides' tragedy, Ion is shown as a descendant (through his mother Creusa) of the Athenian king Erechtheus, and therefore Erichthonius, born of the earth.⁶⁸ This is probably a reference to the already mentioned belief about the autochthonous origin of the Athenians, which is also brought up by Ion himself when he says that the Athenians are "not drawn from

⁶⁰ Eur. *Ion* 237–400.

⁶¹ Eur. *Ion* 300, 404–409.

⁶² Eur. *Ion* 69–71: δώσει γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μαντεῖον τόδε Ξούθῳ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, καὶ πεφυκέναι κείνου σφε φήσει.

⁶³ Eur. *Ion* 1261–1622.

⁶⁴ Lesky 2006, 313. Euripides praises Athens e.g. in one of the songs of the chorus in *Medea*, see Eur. *Med.* 824–865. The trilogy of plays consisting of *Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, and *Trojan Women* (the latter extant in its entirety) staged in 415 BC was probably also a protest against the Peloponnesian War: Czerwińska 2013, 40–41.

⁶⁵ Euripides expressed the greatness and fame of Athens through Hermes' words in the first lines of the prologue, see Eur. *Ion* 8–10: [...] ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος πόλις, τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλημένη [...].

⁶⁶ Rhodes 2009, 160.

⁶⁷ Thuc. 8, 5.

⁶⁸ Eur. *Ion* 265–270; this is a reference to the belief about the autochthonous origin of the Athenians: Lee 1997, 35–36; Zacharia 2003, 56–66.

foreign lineage”.⁶⁹ At the same time, very importantly in the context of this article, Ion is for the first time connected *expressis verbis* with the colonisation of the territories in Asia Minor. In the prologue, a very characteristic term is used to refer to him – κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονός⁷⁰ – while at the very end of the tragedy, *nomen omen*, Athena shows Creusa the bright future of her descendants⁷¹ – Ion’s sons will give names to “land and people” (ἐπώνυμοι γῆς κάπιφυλίου χθονος λαῶν ἔσονται).⁷² Although the text of the tragedy is damaged here, we can easily see that this is a reference to the ancient division of Athens into four phyla mentioned earlier.⁷³ The crux of the foretold power of Athens, which will also be connected with the colonisation of Ionia, is the following fragment, worth quoting *in extenso*:

[...] In years to come, their children will build cities in the Cyclades islands and around the shores of the mainland and so give much power to my city. They will build colonies on the land opposite Europe and Asia. Those in Ionia will be called Ionians, taking the boy’s name and they will earn great glory.⁷⁴

This passage predicts the colonisation which would bring Athens great fame and power. Euripides’ version makes a very clear connection between the colonisation and Ion and his sons. The mention in this context of the territories of Europe, Asia, as well as the Cyclades, clearly reveals the propaganda role of *Ion*, demonstrating the unity of the Athenian empire.⁷⁵

Euripides’ modification of the genealogical tradition is also very important in the context of the colonisation of territories in Asia Minor by Ion and his descendants. In the previous version of the myth, which can be found, for example, in the *Catalogue of Women*, Ion is Xuthus’ son, which makes him Hellen’s grandson (following this line we would find Deucalion and Pyrrha, i.e. a purely human family tree). Linking Ion to the Panhellenic genealogy turned out to be insufficient for Euripides. In the variant proposed by the tragedian, Ion becomes a son of one of the most important gods of the Hellenic pantheon – Apollo.⁷⁶ As a result, the divine origin of Ion and the tribes descended from him sets them apart from and above the Panhellenic genealogy. This can be interpreted as an attempt to show the superiority of the Athenians and their allies in the Greek world; an impression that is strengthened by the fact that in *Ion*, Dorus, the eponymous founder of the Dorians (and so the Spartans, among others) becomes the younger brother of the main character.⁷⁷ In the version of the myth known from the *Catalogue of Women* and

⁶⁹ Eur. *Ion* 589–590: εἶναι φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπέισακτον γένος. English translation by Robert Potter (The Internet Classics Archive).

⁷⁰ Eur. *Ion* 74.

⁷¹ The suddenly appearing *deus* (in this case *dea*) *ex machina* in the final part of the tragedy is a device that Euripides uses to show a happy ending: Czerwińska 2013, 41.

⁷² Eur. *Ion* 1577–1578.

⁷³ Eur. *Ion* 1579–1580.

⁷⁴ Eur. *Ion* 1582–1587. English translation by George Theodoridis (<http://bacchicstage.wordpress.com/euripides/ion/>; access September 2013).

⁷⁵ Mattingly 1999, 189.

⁷⁶ Plato relates the same version (*Euth.* 302c). Smarczyk (1990, 362) believes that making Apollo Ion’s father was not Euripides’ innovation, but a motif taken from an earlier tradition, e.g. from Sophocles’ lost tragedy *Creusa*.

⁷⁷ Athena predicts the birth of a younger son to Creusa: Eur. *Ion* 1589–1590.

Herodotus' *The Histories*, Dorus is not Ion's brother (let alone a younger one) but uncle.⁷⁸ Moreover, in Euripides' account Dorus is the less important brother, as he is the son of Xuthus, not Apollo. This genealogical degradation of Dorus is quite telling in the context of the Peloponnesian War raging between Athens and Sparta.⁷⁹ The reason why Apollo specifically was made Ion's father may be the fact that the god, called ἀρχηγέτης and πατρώος, was worshipped as a protective deity of cities and the god of colonisation.⁸⁰ Bernhard Smarczyk claims that this is the context in which Apollo appears in *Ion*.⁸¹ It should be noted that in *Euthydemus*, Plato also relates the information about the Ionians worshipping Apollo as their protective deity.⁸²

It seems possible that, in the difficult situation Athens was facing at the end of the 5th century BC, Euripides wanted to popularise the myth about Ion among the Athenians.⁸³ It is very difficult to prove whether he succeeded or not. However, we should also mention an interesting inscription found on Samos, and first published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* in 1884, which reads: "Ὅρος τεμένους Ἰωνος Ἀθηνέθεν."⁸⁴ The text, as well as the finding place, are very intriguing; the dating of this find and its authorship are just as important. With regard to the date, the *BCH* editors laconically call the inscription *une inscription archaïque*. J.P. Barron believes that it was probably created in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁵ He also cites another inscription with the same wording, which he in turn dates to the 5th century BC. It is difficult to determine when exactly it was created. J. Hall believes that inscriptions of this type appeared on Samos around 440 BC.⁸⁶ However, we must agree with Barron that the content of this inscription is in keeping with the ideology of the Athenian domination, expressed, among others, in Euripides' *Ion*.⁸⁷

In conclusion, a well-confirmed opinion that the Ionian colonisation was an Athenian initiative can be found quite late, in sources from the 5th century BC, especially its

⁷⁸ Ps.-Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 9 = Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 747f; Hdt 1, 56.

⁷⁹ Zacharia 2003, 55; Lanowski 2006, 350.

⁸⁰ Roscher (ed.) 1890, 438–441.

⁸¹ Smarczyk 1990, 363.

⁸² Plat. *Eut.* 302c.

⁸³ We can find an analogy to confirm the claim that Euripides wanted to popularise the myth about Ion when we study the writer's biography. Towards the end of his life, Euripides left Athens and went to Macedonia, to the court of King Archelaos (who ruled in 413–399 BC). The tragedian's biographer, Satyros of Callatis, who wrote in the Hellenistic period, states that Euripides wrote a play entitled *Archelaos* in honour of his host (see Satyros, *Vita Euripidi* 21–25). One of the play's topics was the genealogical tradition describing the beginnings of the Temenids (Argeads) who ruled Macedonia, and Archelaos was presented as Temenos' son (see Harder 1985, 131). In doing so, Euripides made him the *de facto* founder of the Macedonian dynasty. What is most important from our point of view is the assertion that before the play was written, Archelaos had not been perceived as the founder of the Macedonian royal house; the earlier tradition, recorded in Herodotus' *Histories*, credited Perdiccas (cf. Sprawski 2012, 17–18). Although the version related in *Archelaos* did not take in Macedonia, and Caranus is presented as the founder of the Temenid dynasty in later sources, such as Theopompus of Chios and Plutarch (cf. Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 393, Plut. *Alex.* 2; see Sprawski 2012, 18–19), the stories told in *Ion* could have been received better.

⁸⁴ *BCH* VIII (1884), 160.

⁸⁵ Barron 1964, 37–38.

⁸⁶ Hall 1997, 55.

⁸⁷ Barron 1964, 47–48.

second half. In *The Land of Ionia*, a book devoted mostly to archaeology, Alan Greaves is right on the mark when he notes that stories about the Athenian colonisation of the Ionian territories reveal who the Ionians were according to the Athenians.⁸⁸ Of course, such a belief could have existed earlier, although claims that it had been strong before the 5th century BC receive very weak backing from the sources. The popularisation of the myth may therefore be connected not with the period of building political cooperation between Athens and the Ionian cities, but rather with the period of the Athenians' struggle to keep their Empire in the second half of the 5th century. At that time, with Athens facing a difficult political situation, a need arose to emphasise the connections between the Athenians and the Ionians. Works in which this was reflected were written by authors connected with Athens; writers such as Thucydides or Euripides used their talent to support Athens in a very challenging period of time. Presenting the Athenians as the colonists of Ionia may be interpreted not only as a measure to emphasise their antiquity and ties with Ionia, but also as an attempt to add splendour to Athenian history and strengthen the imperial pride. Such measures perfectly correspond with the fragment of Salustius' *Bellum Catilinae* quoted at the very beginning, whose author believed that its very talented writers raised the status of Athens' history from great to the greatest.⁸⁹

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⁸⁸ Greaves 2010, 223.

⁸⁹ Sal. *Bell. Cat.* 8.

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